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Omaha Action prodding a nation's conscience on missile madness

By Robert E. Light

SHORTLY BEFORE 8 a.m. on June 22 eight persons gathered in a circle at Capitol Square in Lincoln, Neb. For a brief moment they bowed their heads in meditation; then, precisely on the hour they straightened up, shouldered picket signs and marched out of the Square. Out of sight behind shrubbery, FBI men noted their actions.

The marchers were pacifists—members of Omaha Action: Nonviolence Against Nuclear Missile Policy. They were headed for an Atlas missile launching site in construction near Mead, Neb.

For two months they had planned their action, giving public notice of their intentions. On June 18-19 they held public meetings in Lincoln and Omaha. On June 21 Dr. Homer Jack, chairman of the group, was to speak at Omaha's First Unitarian Church, but the church's board refused him permission. He said:

"This is my first experience in 18 years as a Unitarian minister of being refused to be heard by a Unitarian church . . . When I speak to churches of my visits to Africa with Dr. Schweitzer, I am eagerly received. When I do some of the things Albert Schweitzer advocates—opposition to atomic tests and war—I suddenly become an untouchable."

THE MEN IN CARS: During the first day the pacifists marched 22 miles. At night the women slept in a hotel and the men put up in a farmer's barnyard. As they set out again the next morning, farmers waved to them from doorways and people in cars stopped to encourage and, in some cases, to denounce them. The night before the story of their march was carried on local TV newscasts and in the papers. Other greeters

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WHAT THE WELL-DRESSED MARINE WILL WEAR IN AN ATOMIC-BACTERIAL-CHEMICAL WAR

These four are part of one of many teams whose function is to go into contaminated areas to determine whether it is safe for others to enter. This is exactly the kind of madness that the demonstrators at Omaha and Fort Detrick are seeking to cure (see left). But they need a great deal of help and encouragement.

DROP TREASON CHARGE AGAINST THE POWELLS

TREASON CHARGES against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman have been dismissed, it was learned at GUARDIAN press time. A grand jury, meeting for five months, failed to return an indictment because the government could not turn up two witnesses "to an overt act of treason." The sedition indictment against the three is still pending; a new treason complaint is still possible. Doris Brin Walker, defense attorney, said after the dismissal: "The reason they don't have witnesses is that they just never existed. The reason is that they have committed no crime. It's that simple."

The GUARDIAN will have full details next week.

THE SLOGAN: RELY ON PUBLIC OPINION, NOT THE COURTS

California rallies to halt Un-American quiz

ALMOST A THOUSAND Californians turned out at the Hollywood Music Box Theater on June 29 to honor Lloyd Barenblatt, former Vassar College instructor, and Dr. Willard Uphaus, director of the World Fellowship Camp in New Hampshire, and to spark a defense campaign for 110 public school teachers who have been subpenaed for fall hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The meeting came on the heels of decisions, rendered in the closing days of the recent Supreme Court session, upholding contempt convictions against Barenblatt and Uphaus. A sharply divided court had ruled that, despite the First Amendment rights of free speech and association, the House Committee could compel Barenblatt's answers to questions about his political beliefs and associations, and that the New Hampshire Attorney General could demand that Dr. Uphaus turn over a list of visitors to his camp or go to prison.

THE HIGHER COURT: In addition to Barenblatt and Dr. Uphaus, speakers at the Hollywood meeting included A. L. Wirin, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, and Mrs. Ruth Bishop, one of the subpenaed teachers. The meeting was sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, which mailed 12,500 pieces of literature and made 3,000 phone calls in preparation for the event.

Wirin urged the audience: "Do not think your liberties can be handed you on a silver platter by any court. There is a higher tribunal—the Court of Public Opinion, where you have the right and obligation to speak up now."

The teachers themselves have formed a defense committee to pool their energies in a 90-day drive to halt the scheduled hearings. One of their first actions was to place a three-column ad in the Los Angeles Times. In another piece of literature they pointed out that they had been "made to appear guilty of the

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Cedric Belfrage reports on the crisis of Israel

By Cedric Belfrage
(First of a series)

JERUSALEM

ELEVEN YEARS AFTER its establishment as a haven for survivors of past pogroms and potential victims of future ones, the State of Israel is selling weapons to the greatest pogromists in history. The crisis in the Right-Center-Left Labor coalition government, resulting from the West German arms deal, has brought the resignation of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion after he obtained a small parliamentary majority for his policy.

Yet the popularity of Ben-Gurion—a brilliant, tireless demagogue—remains high, and after next November's elections he may head a coalition with avowedly bourgeois and/or religious elements. The price of these elements for co-operation is strengthening of the economy's private against its public sector, and reversal of the secular policies which, the National Religious party organ said, made the late government Israel's "most morally depraved" to date.

Among Israeli progressives there is widespread relief at the death of the Ahdut Avodah (Center) and Mapam (Left) Labor parties' coalition with Ben-Gurion's Mapai. The coalition has involved increasingly abhorrent compromises of principle. In search of Israel's progressive best, I have spent most of my 3-1/2 weeks here with Mapamniks and believe that—although it would mean a more right-wing government — the emergence of Mapam and Ahdut into opposition will create a healthier long-run atmosphere.

BEN-GURION'S STAND: The struggle will now come into the open against the fake socialists and the bourgeois elements with whom they properly belong, and for foreign-policy neutrality and positive efforts toward relaxing tensions with the Arab neighbors. Ben-Gurion made his truculence clearer than ever when, in defending the arms deal, he "regretted" that Israel "does not belong to any bloc;" said Germany had reformed but "Hitler's disciples" were now to be found ruling Arab countries; and even described India in effect as "a force hostile to Israel."

Ben-Gurion might find a clue to neutral India's nonrecognition of Israel in his own constant references to France—whose torture-chamber policy in Algeria closely parallels Hitler's approach to "the Jewish problem."—as "Israel's best friend." (The government radio here calls Algerian liberation fighters "terrorists.")

Past compromises add to the progressive parties' difficulties in winning Israel back to the socialist and

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THE MAIL BAG

Two bills

FALLBROOK, CALIF.

I suggest that every peace-loving person send a telegram or a few words to the President asking him to introduce two bills in the Senate, one to outlaw war and one to take the profits out of war.

The President has the same right as any senator to introduce bills. Then, if the representatives of all the people, those senators and congressmen, would not write those two bills into laws, they would condemn themselves before the people who elected them to office for their protection.

Why I chose the NATIONAL GUARDIAN to give the people the truth: I am sending this message and written support to the most christian-spirited, most truthful liberal newspaper published in America. **J.C.S.**

Double standards

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Some principled people who share my opposition to capital punishment argue against the Florida rape case clemency recommendation, as follows: "We hate capital punishment but we hate 'double standard justice' even more. Why should whites live while Negroes die for the same crime?"

I share the hatred of "double standard justice." I submit, however, that it is poor tactics to surrender a great principle possibly to achieve another. By fighting to save the lives of Negroes condemned to death, using this clemency recommendation and verdict as an example, we can effectively promote b o t h principles: No capital punishment," and "no double standard justice."

Aaron Katz

The Phoenix case

HONOLULU, HAWAII

The U.S. Court of Appeals has reversed the conviction of Earle L. Reynolds, skipper of the yacht Phoenix, which sailed into the Pacific bomb test area last summer. A retrial was ordered, on the grounds that the judge in Honolulu erred in refusing to permit Reynolds to defend himself. The new trial date is Aug. 17.

The Court did not rule on the other important legal and constitutional issues involved in the case. This means that the Reynolds family must start all over again. They hope to put up a good defense. They hope to call in scientific witnesses. They hope to force the Atomic Energy Commission to meet the issues squarely, on their merits. Their attorney is still Joseph Rauh.

The kindness and generosity of hundreds of people made it possible to pay for Trial No. 1 and its appeal. But there is no balance left in the Phoenix Defense Fund. The Reynolds family needs your help.

What can you do? Contribute to the Fund, if you can. Spread the news, by word of mouth. Attempt to correct the impression, given by the news releases, that the case is closed.

Arrange with TV or local groups of a showing of the 20-minute documentary film, "The Forbidden Voyage of the Phoenix" (16 mm. sound, nominal charge). Write about this to Syd Cassyd, 917 S. Tremaine, Los Angeles 19, Calif.

Arrange with a radio station, club or church organization to sponsor a one-hour tape of Dr. Reynolds' talk, "Why the Phoenix Sailed" and/or the tape, "Science, Fallout and the AEC." Contact the address below for details.

Especially, if you are able, contribute to the defense, and urge others to do so.

The Phoenix Defense Fund,
P.O. Box 5199,
Honolulu, T.H.

How sane, etc.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

California's State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities says: "To intimate that Chief Justice Warren is in any way subversive is simply foolish. . . ." Obviously referring to its Congressional counterpart, the state investigators conclude:

"To parade a somewhat moth-eaten series of dedicated party members through a hearing and afford them the facilities of radio and television publicity while they castigate the committee has become in our view largely a waste of time."

Watchman

Sick-making

VISALIA, CALIF.

Extract from a letter from a college youth:

"I met one of those runaway Hungarians yesterday. I acted like I sympathized with him and by the time he got through he had told me Hitler wasn't such a bad guy; what's three or four million Jews; fascism is the only sensible way of operation, and if the U.S. would have traded freely with Germany, World War II never would have happened. He bitterly hates Jews, Poles and, most of all, Russians. He made me feel kind of sick."

Name Withheld

Young Dr. DuBois

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have been keeping Jerry [V. J. Jerome, now in Poland—Ed.] supplied with GUARDIAN clippings, and you might be interested in what he just wrote me about Dr. DuBois' article on China: "It is written with the noble fire of a youth of 19 (reverse the figures). Nothing but the effulgence of truth and the clean hate for detractors and snipers at history can produce such writing. W.E.B. DuBois has altered the course of nostalgia. One finds oneself not looking back to youth with longing, but forward to the evergreen juvenescence of this Grand Old Man. And how fitting that he should write of the rejuvenation, the Great Renaissance of China—deepest-rooted and longest-suffering people in history . . ."

Alice Jerome

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Washington, July 5 (UPI) — Representative Walter H. Judd, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, suggested today that the United States could strike a blow for humanity by developing a "clean" hydrogen bomb and then giving it to the Soviet Union.

The Minnesota Republican said such a move would mean the Soviet Union could no longer hold a threat over the world that atomic war would result in the destruction of civilization.

"We ought to be pursuing our testing day and night to perfect the H-bomb so that it won't be a weapon that will destroy mankind," Mr. Judd said. "If we get that . . . then we ought to offer it to them."

—N.Y. Times, 7/6

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Great Neck, N.Y.

Signalman's Journal

"Sorry—if you were 20 years old, along with your 20 years of experience in our line of work, we would hire you."

For Al Fisher

PINEHURST, WASH.

A. A. (Al) Fisher is now behind bars at McNeil Island—the Northwest's first Taft-Hartley prisoner. The Committee to Free A. A. Fisher is launching, with this letter, a campaign for Executive clemency. The mechanics of the campaign are simple. They boil down to this: Take the issue to the labor movement and the people. Organize a deluge of letters and petitions to the President urging clemency.

Clemency can take either of two forms: (1) A full pardon, or (2) commutation of Fisher's sentence to time already served. The President has unquestioned power, at any time, to grant clemency in either of these forms.

Committee to Free A. A. Fisher, P.O. Box 282

Esperanto conference

CALGARY, CANADA

It would be wonderful if one of your correspondents could attend the Intl. Conference of the Universal Esperanto Assn. in Warsaw, Aug. 1-8, the centenary of the birth of Dr. Zamenhof, its originator, in 1859. I had no idea a few months ago that it was a better language than any national language. We are so indoctrinated, and more than all else with the things closest to us, like our language, about which we haven't really thought at all. And the study of other national languages just underlines further our viewpoint of "things as they are"—so illogical, irregular, complex and narrow.

The Esperanto-Ligo por Nord-Ameriko (ELNA) is at 808 Stewart St., Meadville, Pa.; Esperanto Press, Elna Book Service, Middleton, Wisc. **Mary Clark**

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

TWO THOUSAND angry delegates to the 40th convention of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People met in Los Angeles last week to assess their political status under the Truman administration. Some of the proposed resolutions indicated fireworks. One censured Truman and demanded a special civil rights session of Congress. Another censured the NAACP directors for endorsing the Marshall Plan without "consultation."

Most important speech of the session was made by William H. Hastie, Negro Governor of the Virgin Islands, who lambasted public officials failing to fight racial discrimination. "The obligation of public officials," he said, "is anything that promotes the equality of all the people." Anything less than that was equivalent to "an avowed reactionary position." Hastie pilloried the FBI for branding inter-racial organizations as "subversive," and Army and Navy officials for their "stupid and vicious sophistry" that the armed services are "not a social laboratory."

—National Guardian, July 18, 1949

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The bomb and us

ON JULY 9 A TWO COLUMN advertisement appeared in the New York Times signed by James P. Warburg, author and authority on foreign affairs, who has done so much to alert the nation to the dangers inherent in U.S. foreign policy. The content of Warburg's message is so urgent that we can think of no greater public service this week than to urge your concurrence and action. If you agree, sign the coupon below and mail it to the President. Or send your own wire and get your friends to do the same. If possible, as Warburg suggests, form a group of friends to run similar ads in your local newspapers. The text of Warburg's ad follows:

MUST WE LET THE GERMANS DECIDE OUR FATE?

I am sorry to intrude upon your summer holiday, my fellow Americans, but **do you know what is happening?**

YOUR DESTINY AND THE DESTINY OF OUR CHILDREN IS BEING CONFIDED INTO THE HANDS OF KONRAD ADENAUER—THE WILLFUL, AUTOCRATIC, 83-YEAR-OLD CHANCELLOR OF THE WEST GERMAN REPUBLIC.

Unless you interrupt your vacation to do something about it your government will have surrendered to the Germans, of all people, the power to imperil any settlement as to the future of Berlin—the power to obstruct any agreement to ban nuclear tests and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

This is what is happening while you are enjoying your vacation:

On May 26, President Eisenhower submitted to Congress an agreement under which the West German government will receive from us hitherto restricted information as to the operational use and maintenance of nuclear weapons systems, delivery systems and defense plans, as well as the non-nuclear parts of nuclear weapons systems.

For the time being, the nuclear warheads are to remain under our control. How long do you suppose this arrangement will last? Do you remember how, in 1949, our Secretary of State assured the Senate that the United States would **in no circumstances** agree to remilitarization of Germany, and how, in 1950, he demanded German rearmament? At that time we decided to trust the Germans with conventional weapons, but with nothing more. And now this . . .

But that is not all. Once the agreement goes into effect, we cannot cancel without German consent. This means that the West German government—that is, Konrad Adenauer—will have a veto over any agreement for the limitation of nuclear armaments.

Even that is not all. The agreement will go into effect on July 24 unless, prior to that date, the Senate and the House of Representatives each vote to reject it. What chance is there of such rejection with Congress scrambling for adjournment, and when there has as yet not even been a floor discussion of this far-reaching decision?

WHAT, THEN, CAN YOU DO?

You can try to persuade President Eisenhower to hold off this agreement with the Germans, at least until every possibility of reaching a European settlement has been exhausted and until every possibility of agreement on a nuclear test ban has been explored.

That much you can do. WILL YOU DO IT?

I have wired the President as follows:

The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.:

STRONGLY URGE YOU WITHHOLD NUCLEAR ARMS AGREEMENT WITH FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AT LEAST UNTIL YOU HAVE EXHAUSTED EVERY POSSIBILITY OF REACHING AGREEMENT TO BAN NUCLEAR TESTS AND EVERY POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT. IS IT NOT EVIDENT THAT BOTH OF THESE CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WILL OTHERWISE BE SERIOUSLY PREJUDICED? RESPECTFULLY,

(Sign here) .....

(Address) .....

EVERY MAN A KING (EVEN IF IT WAS ONLY A DREAM)

The secret of the Long dynasty in Louisiana

By Louis E. Burnham

FOR THOSE WHO may be concerned about where to turn for political drama, now that the dull Congressional session is faltering through the hot months to an inglorious close, Louisiana offers an answer. It may be summer stock, but in that Deep South province Gov. Earl K. Long has been putting on a political extravaganza without recent precedent in the state or nation.

The show began on May 30 when Long was dragged, screaming and kicking, from the governor's mansion in Baton Rouge. He later claimed that two "bone-crushers," one 290 pounds, the other 180, thrust him into a waiting plane like a piece of freight and deposited him in the psychiatric ward of the John Sealy Hospital in Galveston, Tex.

The ensuing weeks revealed that the Governor's medical condition was parlous. He went in and out of three mental institutions and won his freedom only after firing the health officials responsible for his commitment to the state hospital for the insane at Mandeville, La. Prominent psychiatrists diagnosed his case as one of paranoid schizophrenia and, to top it off, he suffered a mild heart failure, a recurrence of a serious attack which felled him in 1950.

PAPA GOES FORTH: All these developments were marked by the hasty hiring and firing of doctors and lawyers, near-escapes from confinement, breakneck chases along country roads and state highways, medical bulletins edited by the patient, private utterances peppered with profanity and public statements laced with Longisms—a family trait of quaint, sometimes amusing, more often insulting, vulgarity.

That Long should be able to continue as governor of a state of 2,683,516 Americans under such a burden of incriminating medical testimony and zany behavior seemed improbable to many observers. But on July 4 "Uncle Earl," who calls himself "the last of the red hot papas" in U.S. politics, was back on the political stump seeking what no Louisianan had ever gained—a fourth term as governor.

To achieve this, Long will have to resign his office as a gesture to the Louisiana statute which prohibits a governor from succeeding himself. And he will have to convince a majority of the electorate that he can muster the physical energy, mental capacity and the will to continue the tradition ("Give 'em something they can see and feel") which has made the Longs a power in state politics for a generation.

"IF I'M NUTS—" His first speech on July 4, delivered at Ville Platte, deep in the swamp and bayou Cajun country of southwestern Louisiana, was designed to do just that. Wan and weak, 40 pounds lighter than before his confinement, the Governor was helped to a platform by state troopers. He told his listeners he thought he'd regain his strength in a month and added: "If I'm nuts, I've been nuts all my life."

At Eunice on the Gulf of Mexico he handed out dollar bills and quarters (something they could see and feel) to the assembled children and told the older folks: "I'm for the little man, the middle class and the rich man when they do right. I'm for welfare and those on welfare. I'm for the state hospital system, and we have the best charity hospital system in the nation and it will continue to improve."

This was the keynote which explained the enormous appeal of the Long family to the masses of Louisiana voters: defend the welfare of the poor, challenge the privileges of the rich.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN: Some 30 years ago in the same town of Ville Platte, Huey P. Long, founder of the family dynasty, first voiced the theme during his successful campaign for the governorship. Pointing to the fact that this was Evangeline country, immortalized by Longfellow's poem, and that the heroine had waited there under the spreading oak for her lover Gabriel who never came, Huey noted that others were playing the waiting game too.

"Where," he said, "are the schools that you have waited for your children to have, that have never come? Where are the roads and highways that you sent your money to build, that are no nearer now than ever before? Where are the institutions to care for the sick and disabled? Evangeline wept bitter tears in her disappointment, but it lasted through only one lifetime. Your tears in this country, around this oak, have lasted for generations. Give me the chance to dry the eyes of those who still weep here!"

EARL LONG: THE LAST OF THE RED HOT PAPAS
"If I'm nuts, I've been nuts all my life!"

SHARE THE WEALTH: The people gave Huey Long his chance and he made the most of it. He built schools and provided free text books for the first time in the state's history. He took the tolls off of bridges in a state with 1,500 miles of inland waterways. He built modern free hospitals and pushed paved roadways into the rice and sugar lands of the south and the northern cotton country.

Huey Long's career began in 1928, the year before the Stock Market crash which triggered the Great Depression. The corporations howled at his program to share what little wealth there was those days, but the poor people of Louisiana responded with an almost fanatical loyalty. Huey, as a U.S. Senator, was the unchallenged kingfish of Louisiana when an assassin's bullet cut him down in 1935. He had said that his assassin-to-be's father had "Negro blood," and the son undoubtedly considered this a capital offense.

GRAFT AND SCANDAL: All the Long's exertions were not for the people alone. The family financial fortunes flourished and the political machine was well-heeled. The gambling and rackets potentate, Frank Costello, got the concession for the slot machine business in New Orleans and the "take" amounted to $1,000,000 annually. Graft, extortion, bribery, embezzlement and thievery were common. From the state treasury, from state employes, gambling concessionaires and all kinds of seekers of privilege, cash flowed to the machine and to the pockets of the inner circle.

In 1939 Huey's hand-picked president of Louisiana State University fled to Canada in the wake of charges that he'd misappropriated university funds. Subsequently he went to a Federal prison. Numerous other Long lieutenants also went to jail on charges ranging from mail fraud to kickbacks on oil. When Gov. Leche was imprisoned for using the mail to defraud, the then Lieut. Gov. Earl K. Long had his first fling at the governorship.

THAT FREE STUFF: There's no question that the younger Long brother liked the experience. He later boasted that "every time you go to the door of the mansion somebody's bringing you a turkey or a ham or a basket of something. I like that free stuff."

In one campaign his opponents called him "Earl Kangaroo Slickum Crookum Long," but Earl could take it and strike back in kind. In his 1940 campaign he described his opponent, Sam Jones, in these terms: "He's High Hat Sam, the High Society Kid, the High-Kicking, High and Mighty Snide Sam, the guy that pumps perfume under his arms."

Charged with taking $45,000 in "dee ducts" from employes' salaries, he replied: "Is it worse to take contributions from the little people so we can give them benefits, or have the big shots put up the money so they can control the government?"

THE UPPER-CRUST: Here again was the theme which has recurred throughout Louisiana politics during the past generation. Limited to a choice between an unabashedly corrupt government which offered some benefits, and the coalition of highly cultured reactionaries who had done nothing but oppress them for generations, the people picked the political and social gangsters.

The people knew instinctively from their experience what to expect from the aristocrats. Since the post-Civil War Reconstruction they had ruled the state without interruption until the Longs came. Unlike other Southern states, no wind of Populism and agrarian revolt seriously disturbed the Louisiana atmosphere. Taking advantage of the cleavage between Protestant North and Catholic South, between white and Negro workers and between the great mass of rural folk and the growing population of workers in the cities, the propertied classes ruled with an iron hand.

As a result, Louisiana outstripped the rest of the nation in illiteracy and challenged even Mississippi for the role of most backward in health, welfare and cultural standards.

THE BIG CORPORATIONS: The Long machine began to effect a slight relief in the misery of the people. Even when they were out of office, the bourbons who replaced them found that the reforms were irreversible; they had to adopt much of the Longs' program as their own. In turn, the Longs over the years have made an uneasy peace with the industrial powers which increasingly dominate the economic life of the state.

Combined with the plantation aristocracy of the northern cotton country, the sugar, rice and fur interests of the South, and the shipping interests of the port of New Orleans (the nation's second largest port in tonnage) they form an awesome political power in the state.

BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET: Earl Long indicated recently that his relationship to these interests is not one of unrelieved enmity. "I have the experience to be governor," he said. "I know how to play craps. I know how to play poker. I know how to get in and out of the Baptist Church and ride horses. I know the oil and gas business. I know both sides of the street."

During the coming campaign, however, he can be expected to raise the old battle cry of reform and picture himself as a battler against entrenched privilege. His chief opponents are deLesseps Morrison, for 15 years mayor of New Orleans, the essence of genteel conservatism, whom Long defeated in 1956; and William Rainach, leader of the state's rabid segregationist forces, former head of the Natl. Citizens Council Assn., whose customary banner is a pink tie decorated with a Confederate flag.

SEGREGATION "MODERATE": On the segregation question, Long may be classed as a "moderate" among Southern governors. Part of his current trouble began when he appeared before a legislative committee to support an amendment to the registration law which would have made it more difficult to purge Negroes' names from the voting lists. With 161,410 Negroes registered in the state in 1956, the Negro vote has become an important influence in political campaigns.

That year a Negro attorney, Earl Amadee, ran for State Atty. General and amassed 60,000 votes, the largest statewide total of any Negro candidate in a Southern state in recent years.

Recently, however, the segregationist forces have been purging Negroes from the lists on the basis of a state law which enables any two voters to challenge the registration of another on a multitude of technical grounds. In the last seven months Negro registration in Washington Parish was down from 1,517 to 236.

THE NEGRO VOTERS: On June 9 the Justice Dept. filed suit in Federal Court to stop the practice. And the Civil Rights Commission has scheduled hearings in Shreveport to investigate the denial of Negroes' voting rights in northwestern Louisiana.

The Negro vote has gone overwhelmingly to the Longs every time they have sought office. Together with the poor up-country farmers, the destitute fur trappers, sugar workers and rice hands in the southern fields and swamps, and the industrial workers of the cities, they make up the hard core of the Longs' support. And a pretty big core it is.

If Long's frail mind and body survive the campaign, his chances cannot be discounted. The people have long tolerated the venality of the machine. They might even settle for a crazy man to avoid a relapse to the sophisticated "sane" reaction that bled them politely and excruciatingly for generations before big brother Huey set out to make "every man a king."

The crisis of Israel

(Continued from Page 1)

positive-peacemongering road, but they feel it is high time to get started. Already last spring Hitler's Deutsche Bank chief and "aryanizer" of Jewish firms, Herman Abs, was here discussing a West German loan to Israel. Ben-Gurion's finance minister Eshkol, answering a protest by Communist MP Moshe Sneh, whitewashed Abs as a "devout Catholic" who "visited the holy places here" and who, being Adenauer's "close adviser," could not "possibly" have been a Nazi.

ISRAEL AND U.S.S.R.: As the government crisis broke, the press was reporting that Bonn's new Nazi-led Luftwaffe would soon be stronger than any power (including the U.S.) on the West European continent. But skillful Western propaganda—plus a far greater Soviet hostility toward Israel than realities here seem to warrant—has convinced many good Israelis that world Jewry's main enemy is the U.S.S.R., which saved a multitude of Jews from the gas ovens, delivered the crushing blows to the anti-Semite armies, and itself lost three times more lives than did the Jews to the Hitler juggernaut.

"Jewish history cries out against the very thought of so perfidious a deal. . . . Jewish feelings are outraged and the Jewish heart is in revolt." Thus two respectable Tel Aviv dailies reflect the reaction to the West German arms deal of all true friends of the Jewish people; and many will be wondering how it is possible that the majority of Israelis can favor it, as I believe they do. I would submit, after meeting hundreds of ordinary Israelis as well as political leaders, that for outside progressives seeking to understand the present in light of the past, blanket condemnation is impermissible.

THE LAST PLACE: After Auschwitz, Treblinka and Warsaw, a thousand Ben-Gurions could not make Germany and Germans popular in Israel; but as a taxi-driver who survived the holocaust in Lithuania said: "We have come to the last place, we stand on this soil with a gun, and we shall kill anyone who attacks us here." Visiting a Warsaw Ghetto memorial museum on the **kibbutz** (communal settlement) established by ghetto survivors, I heard this from one of the magnificent new generation of children who are Israel's pride: "How was it possible? Where was our army?"

Today, surrounded by hostile countries, the Jews have an army and it needs weapons. The vying of the powers (for different reasons) for Arab favor apparently excludes all possible sources except France, which is warring on an Arab people. If the sale of grenades to Germany will in return fill substantial holes in Israel's armory—but this is far from certain, for Germany too wants Arab favor—Israel cannot deny itself the means of defense even from the cremators of 6,000,000 Jews. That is the hackles-eye view here today.

THE DIVERSION: The essence of Ben-Gurion's demagogy, which has persuaded most Israelis that German arms are necessary for survival, is the diversion of their attention from the real causes of Israel's perilous position in the Middle East. Progressives everywhere should not let their attention be so diverted. They should remember who was responsible for German rearmament (in fairness to Israel its parliament strongly protested at the time) and who it is that profits so richly—via its oil interests—from the maintenance of Middle East tensions and of Arab economic and social backwardness.

In the West, those who are genuinely concerned about the Jewish people's agonizing dilemmas should

IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS TO STAY
But the stresses in Israel are many

devote more effort to curbing these forces at home. In both West and East they should recognize and support (as Poland is beginning to do) the progressive forces in Israel, which are much more mature and deeply rooted than I was led to think.

QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION: Two doubts in my mind have been largely cleared away by my visit. While there exists here a bourgeoisie no less arrogant, racist-minded and potentially bloodthirsty than any other country's, aggressiveness is by no means the spirit of the Israeli nation. The army, in which all must serve 2-1/2 years, is also a central educational institution of this melting-pot land and assigns thousands of youngsters to constructive peaceful tasks such as teaching, land reclamation and afforestation.

Nor do I see justification for fears that further Jewish immigration must lead to aggressive expansionism. Sober realities suggest that an absolute maximum of two million more Jews, and probably not more than a million, will ever want to settle here—and that over a period of many years. Within the present frontiers or the equivalent area they could be prosperously accommodated, if the reclamation of desert and long-neglected land continues at its present astounding pace.

There is also, of course, the question of Arab refugees, to whom Israel's obligation is widely recognized in progressive circles; but land and work for them too—or as many of them as still want to return—may not be beyond Israel's power to provide.

A YOUNG NATION: The Jewish people's humanitarian tradition and the torments they have endured through the ages led many to hope that they would set a new standard of governmental morality when Israel became a nation. Such hopes, while not wholly groundless as time may yet show, fail to take into account the universal conflicts within any capitalist society.

Israel has indeed set up in its **kibbutz** movement a model of communal living which is unique, but this is only a small part of what is essentially a capitalist welfare-state. In its eleven years it has done "no more" than to triple its Jewish population with migrants from all over the world, establish a common language, build up national pride, and sink roots into soil which—whether anyone likes it or not—it will keep or die.

It is a short enough time for a nation to go into business. Now its citizens express themselves "normally" through political parties from Communist to Fascist, and the class struggle and the struggle between superstition and science are joined just as in any other capitalist democracy. The government crisis merely shows that in an era of advanced capitalist corruption and decay, the only immunization in the last analysis is socialism.

HAND IS NEEDED: A Nazi concentration-camp graduate—now like many others living on a lower standard here than a few years ago in the socialist world—said to me: "Many things here are very bad, many are very good." On the good side for him are the imposing welfare accomplishments of this welfare-state and the breath-taking speed with which its natural resources are being developed—eventually, he hopes, much more for his benefit and much less for the exploiters'.

A Mapam official said: "Look what has been built with muscle and sweat by a people they said were just parasites." That a new set of Jewish parasites (always displaying itself in Tel Aviv's open-air cafes) is fattening on the labor of other Jews, and that the country is to a dangerous extent in pawn to the arch-foes of socialism—these facts do not negate his reason for pride. He is well aware of them, and fights them, and to him we should be stretching out our hand.

California rallies

(Continued from Page 1)

most serious of moral and legal crimes: acts of subversion and disloyalty to our country."

500 IN SAN FRANCISCO: The teachers contended, however, that their only "crime" was "that we have felt obligated in mind and conscience to oppose—in our own individual ways, by letter or petition, by assemblage or affiliation—the political ideas and unconstitutional methods which the House Un-American Activities Committee represents and practices."

In Northern California opposition to the Committee was just as spirited. On June 30 almost 500 crowded into the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco to hear Barenblatt and a list of prominent speakers including Prof. Joseph P. Murray, visiting professor of law at the U. of California; Ben Rust, past president, California Fedn. of Teachers; Robert Ash, exec. secy., Alameda County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and

Drawing by Fred Wright

"I know absolutely nothing about the case—I'm just here to help frame the defendant . . ."

Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of American philosophers.

1951 LAW UPSET: The next day both Barenblatt and Rust spoke again to an audience of 300 students and faculty members at Dwinelle Hall on the U. of California campus. That evening more than 100 persons gathered for a reception and discussion of further plans to stop the House Committee hearings.

Persistence in the struggle against witch-hunting paid off on July 6 when the California Superior Court upset a 1951 law requiring non-subversive declarations by groups using public school auditoriums for public meetings. The statute had been challenged by the ACLU, which had applied to use a Los Angeles high school auditorium next December to commemorate the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

Only one of a series of witch-hunting laws passed during the McCarthy period remains on the California statute books. That one, requiring a non-communist declaration by state employes, is also under attack.

The Black dissent

THE DISSENT of Justice Hugo Black in the Barenblatt case is one of the most stirring defenses of constitutional liberties to come out of the recent session of the Supreme Court. The L. A. Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms has reprinted the Black dissent in an attractive pamphlet and has been distributing it widely on the West Coast. Some 2,000 copies are left and may be secured for 15c a copy or 10c each for orders of 100 or more. The Committee address is 617 N. Larchmont Boulevard, Los Angeles 4, Calif.

NAACP holds its 50th convention

THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY convention of the NAACP got under way in the New York Coliseum on July 13 with a keynote speech by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the organization's board of directors.

Noting that there is "ample room for optimism," Tobias emphasized that "life for the Negro in America today is far different from what it was in 1909." He asserted that "gloom and despair have given way to confidence and hope." Dr. Tobias underscored the "Americanism" of the NAACP. The spiritual progenitor of the movement, he said, "was William Lloyd Garrison and not his contemporary, Karl Marx."

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller also addressed the opening session. The convention was scheduled to close with a Polo Grounds rally on Sunday afternoon, July 19.

A full report of the convention will appear in next week's GUARDIAN.

On a national scale, however, the result of the Supreme Court's rulings during the past session has been to bolster the states' authority to control political behavior and weaken the individual citizen's rights of free speech and association.

THE DeGREGORY CASE: In addition to the Barenblatt and Uphaus decisions, evidence of this fact was seen in a little-noted Supreme Court ruling which limited a New Hampshire citizen's use of the Fifth Amendment guarantee against self-incrimination.

The case came to the Court on the appeal of Hugo DeGregory from his conviction for violating the New Hampshire immunity law. The law grants immunity to witnesses before the one-man state probe into "subversion" conducted by Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman, thus nullifying their use of the Fifth Amendment.

DeGregory, a 43-year-old factory worker, refused to accept the offer of immunity on the ground it would not protect him from prosecution in other states or by the Federal government. Adjudged in contempt for his refusal to answer Lyman's queries, DeGregory was jailed without bail "until such time as he purged himself by answering." Upon appeal to the New Hampshire Supreme Court, he won release on $10,000 bail pending review in the Federal courts.

The Supreme Court refused to consider DeGregory's appeal "for want of substantial Federal question," and Wyman boasted that the case "really breaks the back of the Fifth Amendment as far as we're concerned."

Pauling and Muste pamphlets for peace now at cut rate

TWO ANTI-WAR pamphlets—one by Linus Pauling, the other by A. J. Muste—are being offered by **Liberation** magazine. Pauling's "Every Test Kills" is a penetrating review of the possible genetic consequences of continued nuclear testing. Formerly 10c, the remaining copies have been marked down to 2c to encourage wider distribution. Muste's "Getting Rid of War" is a call for individual responsibility on behalf of peace. It sells for 10c with a 20% discount on orders of 10 or more copies. Order from **Liberation**, 110 Christopher St., N.Y.C. 14, N.Y.

Omaha Action

(Continued from Page 1)

appeared in government cars on hill tops just ahead of the marchers. But when the pacifists tried to photograph the cars' occupants they drove off.

Shortly after noon on June 24 the marchers neared their destination. Over the hill on the road from Omaha, they saw another column of marchers. At 1:30 p.m. the groups met at an intersection and retired together to a small knoll near the base to sit in quiet meditation.

VIGIL AT THE GATE: At the gate to the missile base, the Omaha **World-Herald** reported, "there were more lawmen and newsmen than demonstrators." According to the paper, "also present were Air Force and Army investigators, representatives of the Army Ordnance Department, a guard employed by the National Gypsum Co., which has operated the plant, and Acting Saunders County Sheriff Charles Sayers."

For the next week, around the clock, down the road and near the gate, the pacifists stood in quiet, meditative prayer. During this period Nebraska and Iowa Quakers and others joined the vigil from time to time. At the gate the Air Force erected a sentry box and a searchlight and kept men on 24-hour guard.

To the civilians working on the site and the Air Force personnel, the pacifists addressed a leaflet. It said:

"We lay no claim to superior righteousness or morality. Yet we feel compelled to ask you who are directly involved at the missile base, along with all of our fellow Americans who by their silence and inaction give their consent: Do you know the real meaning of what you do? Do you realize that this construction, as well as that going on at bases in other parts of the country, is preparing indiscriminate death and suffering for countless men, women and children in our own and other lands? . . . We ask you to think, search your soul, and then, as Lincoln said, 'have the courage to do the right as God gives us to see the right'."

THE LEGION ARRIVES: On June 29, veteran pacifist and peace leader A. J. Muste, 73, coordinator of the action, wrote to President Eisenhower informing him that on July 1 some of the vigilers would attempt to enter the site.

At 9:30 a.m. on July 1, 18 pacifists gathered outside the gate, bowed in silent prayer. At 10 a.m. they heard Muste deliver a sermon. Then Muste, Ross Anderson, 59, of Americus, Ga., and Karl Meyer, 22, son of Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.), approached the gate and asked permission to enter.

At the gate, in addition to the usual assemblage of guards, newsmen and Federal officials, there were 15 men from the American Legion post at Yutan. They carried signs reading: "Yutan Legion Protest's (sic) Pacificsts." One man's sign said the vigilers were communists.

When the guards at the gate refused to let the pacifists enter, Muste, Anderson and Meyer climbed over a low fence. Air Force officers then handed them printed notices informing them they were trespassing and therefore liable to imprisonment and fine. The guards then ejected the demonstrators. Immediately the three climbed over the fence again. This time they were met by a U.S. marshal who arrested them and took them to the county jail.

"I'M SO SORRY": The next day the pacifists pleaded guilty to trespassing but said they felt no moral guilt.

Outside the missile site the vigil continued. On the morning of July 6, Wilmer Young, 71, of Wallingford, Pa., and Dave Wyland, 23, of Toledo, O., approached the gate and asked to enter. Legion members closed in on them, but Wyland climbed over the fence. One man in the crowd began to stamp on Young's feet, but the pacifist made no move to defend himself. Instead he turned to climb the fence and accidentally brushed his tormentor, knocking him off his feet. "I'm so sorry," said Young and climbed the fence.

On the other side a U.S. marshal met the pair and arrested them for trespassing. They pleaded guilty and joined the others in jail. On the morning of July 8 the scene was repeated with Bradford Lyttle and Donald Fortenberry arrested.

The next day in Omaha, Federal Judge Richard E. Robinson sentenced five of the group to the maximum penalty: six months in jail and a $500 fine. But he suspended sentences and fines on condition that they discontinue activities at the Mead base and all other military installations. Sentencing of Lyttle and Fortenberry was postponed a week; they remained free in bail. Unlike the others, the two had sought bail because manpower was needed to maintain the vigil.

On July 10 Meyer, along with Hiram C. Hildridge and Lawrence L. Shumm, both 19, was arrested again for trespassing at the base. A hearing was to be held July 16.

A DEEP FAITH: In Washington Rep. Meyer, who was elected last year on a platform of opposition to nuclear arms, said he was aware of his son's activities and sympathized with his desire to work for world peace. For himself young Meyer said: "I am a Catholic, living in the Church as fully as I can with the help of grace. I act because my Faith, as I understand it, compels me to act. I personally believe that the missile race and other preparations for mass nuclear death herald the greatest crisis of human history and threaten the destruction of mankind and the end of the world."

On July 13 Lyttle and Fortenberry were sentenced to six months in jail and fined $500 each after they admitted they disregarded the court's order to stay away from the base. The same day Erica Enzer and John K. White were fined $75 and $8 costs for sitting in the path of trucks delivering to the base. They said they would serve out the fines in jail at the rate of $3 a day.

OUT IN THE OPEN: In a bulletin the pacifists explained their action: "The main factor influencing the decision to plead guilty was that a plea of not guilty would probably postpone trial and sentencing until October. . . . At the end of the project, some weeks or months hence, a group of people may attempt to enter the site, plead not guilty, and have Francis Heisler try the case on the basis of the principles involved. A court case of this kind, with widespread publicity, could be an excellent way to get the basic issues out and discussed."

In evaluating their protest thus far, the pacifists concluded: "The initial action phase of the project has carried far better than could be expected . . . We are alert, however, to problems that can develop in the future. Omaha Action can swell to become a mass demonstration against the now obsolete tradition of security through military power . . . [but] the peace movement must continue to provide financial and moral support as well as participants."

Contributions may be sent to Omaha Action, 105 S. 16th St., No. 35, Omaha 2, Neb.

A MOMENT OF MEDITATION BEFORE THE CAPITOL IN LINCOLN, NEB.
Just before the demonstrators took off on a 38-mile hike to the missile site

AT FORT DETRICK: Elsewhere others also sought to save the world from destruction.

• Outside Fort Detrick, near Frederick, Md., where the U.S. maintains a biological warfare base, 150 pacifists from 12 states, began a vigil July 1. Although it was scheduled to end on July 5, Stewart Meacham, chairman of the group, announced the vigil would continue until September. He said: "The nation that would be a peacemaker must learn how to make war on germs instead of war with germs."

• In Baden, Austria, 25 scientists from the U.S., Britain, the Soviet Union, China, West Germany and other countries held a two-week conference beginning June 25 on nuclear armaments control and world security. The conference was the fourth in the Pugwash series, named for the town in Nova Scotia where the first meeting, sponsored by industrialist Cyrus Eaton, was held in July, 1957.

SENATOR PROXMIRE SPEAKS TO UE CONFERENCE IN THE CAPITAL
The big lesson: Union pressure pays off; inaction is pernicious

DELEGATES CANVASS THE HILL

UE revives the forgotten practice of political action in Washington

WHILE AFL-CIO officials scurried about Capitol Hill last month trying to back down from their commitment to the Kennedy-Ervin "labor reform" bill, the independent United Electrical Workers called some of its members to Washington to lobby on pork chop issues.

About 160 delegates came from UE locals across the country June 22-23. Most were rank-and-file members; many passed the hat in their shops to raise their fare. At the opening session they heard reports from union officials, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) and Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.). But during most of their stay the delegates, in small groups, visited their Congressmen.

They met with 14 Senators and 54 Representatives. With each they discussed the problem of unemployment at a time of booming profits. They urged support for UE's legislative program for (1) a 35-hour week; (2) extended and improved unemployment compensation with minimum standards set by Congress, and (3) a $1.25-an-hour minimum wage.

RULE FROM THE TOP: Proxmire told the delegates that "the sort of legislation you and I believe in" was not being passed because Senate Majority Leader Johnson and House Speaker Rayburn did not want it. He explained how the leaders throttle the new Congressmen: "We [Democratic Senators] have had only two caucuses; one in 1958 when we heard Sen. Johnson speak for 45 minutes on a statement he had already released to the press. We did not meet again until 1959 when we heard another 45-minute speech, which also had been released to the press."

The delegates got an eyebrow-raising view of Congress from the legislators they visited. Many Congressmen did not know that Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) had introduced a 35-hour week bill in April. When they were assured the bill was pending, most agreed to call for public hearings.

A RARE TOPIC: Some Congressmen said that labor is rarely mentioned in Washington except in reference to the Kennedy-Ervin bill. Rep. John Dent (D-Pa.) said: "There isn't anything going on in labor that demands a Federal law. You don't hear any agitation for social security, for shorter hours, for anything that would benefit labor.

"They've got everybody believing that this [racketeering] is the only thing bothering the country. This is the biggest red herring since the cry about communism in unions. Now they've got everybody crying that labor is all racketeering.

"Some Senators and Representatives have made up their minds that we have to have a labor bill. Not because labor needs it but because the politicians need it."

PRESSURE PAYS OFF: One Republican legislator said that Johnson and Rayburn had told the Democratic Congressmen they could not go home till a labor reform bill was passed. "Everybody seems to be running for President," he said.

If the delegates needed proof that union pressure pays off, they got it from House Majority Leader McCormack (D-Mass.). He told them that because of a visit last spring from UE President Albert J. Fitzgerald and UE district president Paul Seymour, he had brought to the floor a bill for extension of emergency unemployment compensation.

A departing delegate said to UE Washington representative Russ Nixon: "Imagine how it would be if every union operated like UE in Washington and mobilized its members into a Washington lobby."

BOOKS

Karl Marx and the Jews

THE GUARDIAN does not censor advertising because we may not agree with it; but we do reject it when we discover in it misstatements, misleading assertions, evidence of racism, prejudice, etc. We took our eye off the ball recently in this respect, with the result that an ad appeared in the May 18 GUARDIAN which should not have. It was an ad for a book called A World Without Jews, *which the author and publisher falsely represented as a translation of a work of that name by Karl Marx.*

We have received many letters pointing out this and other unwarranted claims in the ad. Some of the letters were published in The Mailbag, with the statement that we would subsequently publish a refutation of the false and unwarranted claims.

Meanwhile, thorough-going appraisals of A World Without Jews *and the motives behind its publication have appeared in the Jewish* Morning Freiheit *(in English) May 17-24 and June 14; and in the July-August issue of* Jewish Currents. *Both appraisals were written by Marxist scholars of repute—the* Freiheit's *by J. M. Budish, that in* Jewish Currents *by Dr. Louis Harap.*

Following is a summary of Dr. Harap's article, which occupies seven full pages in the July-August Jewish Currents *(22 E. 17 St., N.Y. 3). We strongly recommend obtaining the magazine and reading the full article; and also referring back to the several* Freiheit *articles (35 E. 12 St., N.Y. 3).*—The Editors.

KARL MARX never wrote a work called **A World Without Jews.** He did write a two-part essay, "On the Jewish Question," which the compiler of the 51-page booklet in question, self-styled "eminent philosopher" Dagobert D. Runes, combines with a section of Marx and Engels' "The Holy Family" under the title in question.

Runes stated in the ad for his book that this "little work became the fountainhead of anti-Semitic activity in Germany and present-day Soviet Russia." In his refutation in the July-August **Jewish Currents,** Dr. Louis Harap points out that great Marxists such as Engels, Bebel and Lenin, and Marxist movements in general, have been "bitter opponents of anti-Semitism"; and that Marx's own paper, the **Rheinische Zeitung,** which he published for two years in Cologne, was surpressed in 1843 following its opposition to ghetto laws and finally for an article blaming oppression of the peasants on landowners and bureaucrats, rather than on the Jews who were popularly held responsible.

MARX'S PAPER had also fought against special taxes and restrictions on Jews and in 1843 Marx drew up a petition for Jewish rights at the request of leading Cologne Jews. Marx made clear when drafting the petition that the Jewish religion was "repugnant" to him, but he joined in the struggle for Jewish emancipation as a means of weakening the German monarchy. Of this period (the same period in which Marx wrote his essay "On the Jewish Question") Prof. Solomon Bloom of Brooklyn College wrote in 1942: "The fact that he supported emancipation removes Marx at once from the ranks of political anti-Semitism."

Dr. Harap does not seek to erase from Marx the fact that he shared with many eminent Germans of his time (Goethe, for example) an antipathy toward Jews because of their wide identification with trade and commerce rather than with industry and agriculture; nor that he shared with the radical thinkers of his time an aversion to the Jewish religion, as to all religion, and especially the concept of the "Christian state" on which the German princes based their regimes.

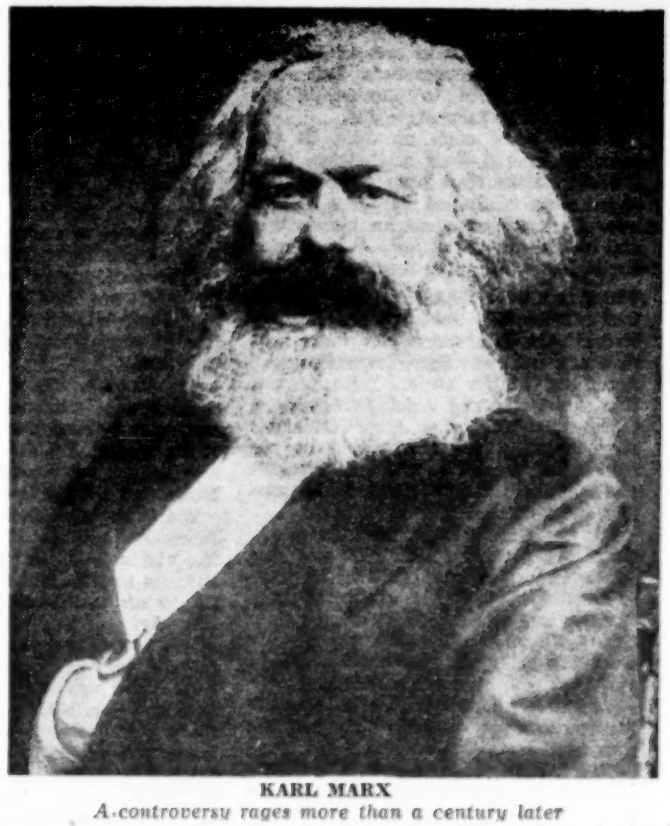
However, the essay "On the Jewish Question," and that entitled "The Holy Family" a year later, represented a break with Bruno Bauer, who had disputed Jewish claims to political freedom, stating in the course of his argument that they should first embrace Christianity in order to warrant status in a Christian state.

MARX SAW no contradiction in Jews seeking rights as Jews in a Christian state but argued that "the political emancipation of the Jew, the Christian, or of the religious man in general, means the emancipation of the State from Judaism, from Christianity, from religion in general." Of this, Dr. Harap writes:

"Marx uses Judaism in this essay to symbolize the commercial spirit which, he maintains, is the real God of the Jew. It is in the "every-day Jew', not in the 'Sabbath Jew', that he finds the real expression of Judaism. And the worldly Jew, he believes, is the essence of the money power, the drive for money, the spirit of petty trade. Consequently, he writes, 'emancipation from huckstering and from money, and therefore from practical, real Judaism would be the self-emancipation of our epoch.' Christianity in bourgeois society has, he states, taken over this money spirit of Judaism: 'Christians have become Jews'; Judaism has received its supreme development in Christian society'. Because of its historic commercial function, 'Judaism has survived not in spite of, but by virtue of history. Out of its own entrails, bourgeois society continually creates Jews'. Marx concludes that 'the social emancipation of the Jews is the emancipation of society from Judaism'. In other words, when the world rids itself of the commercial spirit of bourgeois society, the dominating power of money will disappear and Jews and all mankind will be truly free."

DR. HARAP traces the historical background of this identification of the Jew with the money power, but credits Marx's Cologne paper of the same period with the statement that ". . . all other paths were closed to the Jews. If you want to improve the Jews so that they will take part in the mechanical trades and agriculture more than they do now, you must take the necessary steps to remove the pressures that bear down on them."

In his article Dr. Harap demonstrates that among many damaging mistranslations Runes substitutes the word "Jewry" for "Judaism" in the foregoing portion of the reprinted essay, with the effect of "making Marx appear an advocate of Jewish extermination while Marx intended to use Judaism as the symbol for a commercial economy." This mistranslation lays the basis for Runes' assertion that "terroristic practices" of Marxism could "bring to reality the sanguinary dream of Karl Marx—a world without Jews."



KARL MARX
A controversy rages more than a century later

MARX'S ANALOGIES in his polemical exchange with Bauer in 1843-44, the basis for the Runes publication, Dr. Harap characterizes as "a way station in Marx's development toward what is now known as 'Marxism' and by no means . . . Marx's mature views . . .

"When Marx developed his fully matured views, this concept disappeared. It is totally absent from **Capital,** in which Jews are hardly mentioned. When he does refer to Jews there as a commercial group, in Vol. III, he mentions them as only one of the historical commercial peoples, along with the Greeks, the Phoenicians and the Lombards."

Dr. Harap concludes that "Runes is not interested in informing the reader. He would rather induce people to see the essay in a false context and thus assign a monstrously distorted significance to it."

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NEW YORK

Tuesday, July 21, 8:15 p.m.
"Independent Political Action"
ESTHER CANTOR
In 6-week course, "Pol. Action Today"

• • •

Wednesday, July 22, 10:15 a.m.
"Capitalist Exploitation in the U.S."
BETTY GANNETT
In 6-week "Elements of Marxism" course

• • •

Wednesday, July 22, 8:15 p.m.
"The Negro Liberation Movement Today"
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Guest Lecturer
In 6-wk "Negro Question Today" course

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Thursday, July 23, 8:15 p.m.
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THE GALLERY

ABOUT 130 CUSTOM-BUILT, polished walnut boxes housing microphone-speaker units in the new Senate Office Building's committee rooms will be scrapped in favor of old-fashioned microphones. It seems the fancy gadgets gave off "howls, bleeps and squawks" during committee hearings. At one of the sessions on the nomination of Adm. Lewis L. Strauss for Secretary of Commerce there was so much noise that Sen. Warren Magnuson ordered all "mikes" ripped out and stored in a closet. Holes will be chopped in the new tile ceilings in order to install the old-fashioned equipment at a cost of $15,000 . . . Rumors in Washington are that the Arkansas AFL-CIO will support Gov. Orval Faubus against Sen. John L. McClellan for the Senate in 1961 . . . Visitors to London will be happy to know that William Gropper will have an exhibit at the Piccadilly Gallery until Aug. 8. . . . **Maverick,** a new "independent labor journal," has begun monthly publication in Chicago. Its purpose is to awaken the American public through laughter, which its editors find lacking in the "periodicals of the 69 sects of the Nervous Guardians of the Left Holy Grail." A sample subscription at six issues for $1 is available from the magazine at 1553 W. Madison, Chicago 7, Ill.

SOMEONE TACKED ON A BULLETIN BOARD in a New York newspaper office the following imaginary report of a work-study engineer on the efficiency of the N.Y. Philharmonic Orchestra: "For considerable periods the four oboe players have nothing to do. Number should be reduced, work spread more evenly over the whole concert, eliminating peaks of activity. All 12 violins playing identical notes; this seems unnecessary duplication. The staff in this section should be drastically cut. If more volume required, use electronic equipment . . . Too much repetition of some musical passages—scores should be drastically pruned. No useful purpose in repeating on horns passage already played by strings . . . Conductor agrees generally with these recommendations but says there might be some falling off of box office receipts. In that unlikely event, sections of auditorium could be closed off saving money on overhead, lighting, attendants, etc." . . . Warner & Swasey, precision tool manufacturers in Cleveland, in a full-page ad in **Newsweek,** ask: "How much Federal aid did the Pilgrims get?" They answer themselves: "They were in a Depressed Area. No one guaranteed them high prices for anything. Their only roads and schools were built by themselves. For Security they did their own saving, or starved. All they had was Character. All they did was Work. All they wanted was Self Respect."

Vie Nuove, Rome

WALTER P. COOMBS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, advises, in case of atomic attack, "wherever you are when the bomb explodes, always drop on your stomach, face down immediately." He adds: "This is going to be a big American problem because we are just too curious." . . . **Time** magazine (June 8) marked the 10th anniversary of the "loss" of Shanghai. Recalling the victory of the People's Army, it says: "All that had been colorful and lively went grey and quiet. The Race Course became a sedate People's Park; the famed Shanghai Club, where British merchants had dozed over month-old copies of the London **Times,** a seamen's club; Blood Alley, where sailors used to break each other's heads in chauvinistic brawls, resounded only to the click of chopsticks in cooperative noodle shops. Bars and dance halls and opium dens closed down; prostitutes and beggars vanished from the newly swept streets." Ah, for the good old days of Harry Luce's American Century! . . .

—Robert E. Light

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FOUND!

A FEW WEEKS ago we announced an extraordinary buy for GUARDIAN readers—two hard cover books by Soviet science-fiction writer I. Yefremov, plus a free copy of Sternfeld's **Interplanetary Travel,** all for $2.95! The 100 sets—all we could get—were snapped up in 10 days, and we returned the excess orders. Subsequently the distributor found 60 more sets in his warehouse, which we can now offer to disappointed customers.

The books are **The Land of Foam** and **Stories,** both reviewed in the June 15 issue. Houghton Mifflin Co. is selling the American edition of **The Land of Foam** for $3.50. You get both books, plus the pamphlet for $2.95. Fine reading for teen-agers and adults alike. First come first served.

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the SPECTATOR

Spain: July 18, 1936

Two weeks before the 23rd anniversary of Generalissimo Franco's rebellion against the Republican government of Spain—July 18, 1936—the Madrid government announced a new austerity program which will hit the workers of Spain especially hard. A billion dollars in non-military aid from the U.S. (most of which has found its way into the pockets of the Franco inner circle), plus billions more in military aid, has not kept fascist Spain from teetering constantly on the brink of bankruptcy. Knowing well that the new stringent economic measures—the price of loans from the Intl. Monetary Fund—will create new unrest, Franco has decreed a new public law to give his regime even more power to suppress protest.

Despite the police state atmosphere, Spanish democrats have continued to oppose the regime. The prisons are full of political dissidents. The GUARDIAN has told (June 1) of the case of Leoncio Pena, who fought both in the Spanish War and in the U.S. Army in World War II. He returned to Spain to fight against Franco. On May 5, 1958, he helped to organize the Natl. Day of Reconciliation, which brought out thousands in a demonstration for freedom. He was arrested and sentenced to 20 years. Now in the Central Prison of Burgos, Spain, his term recently was reduced by five years in a general "amnesty."

Last week a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade brought to the GUARDIAN office a letter from a Spanish prisoner which gives an idea of the unquenchable spirit of the Leoncio Penas of Spain. The GUARDIAN urges its readers to write to the Spanish Ambassador in Washington protesting the continued imprisonment of these Spanish patriots and, wherever possible, to send food, medicine and letters to the prisoners themselves. A translation of the letter in our hands follows:

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND: I note that you are concerned with our situation here and that you are doing everything within your power to bring closer that fortunate day when the prison doors will be opened for us. and for the many thousands of Spaniards now in exile, so that they may return to their native land and to their homes and families. I want to thank you, on behalf of myself and my comrades, for everything you are doing.

The democratic and progressive world, the men and women of humanitarian sentiments are on our side. We receive messages of encouragement and sympathy from all over the world. In France, Italy, Venezuela, Argentina, Cuba, Brazil, England, United States, in all the socialist world—to cite but a few places—meetings, conferences and reunions are being held on our behalf; many thousands of signatures are being collected, and thousands of telegrams are being sent to the United Nations, to the various embassies and governments, demanding amnesty for the Spanish political prisoners and exiles.

Lawyers, students, scientists, writers and artists; parliamentarians and statesmen, individually and collectively, are putting forth the issue. The diverse international trade union movements, the World Youth Federation, the World Student Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Women, and many other organizations are determined not to cease in their efforts.

An energetic movement in favor of amnesty also exists in our country. We know that the main efforts should be carried out in Spain, by our people, and we do not doubt even for a moment, that with your help, we will achieve the objective. Whatever you may do on our behalf in other lands—collect a signature, send a telegram, direct a petition to an embassy, any effort is a powerful contribution which stimulates our own action. Help us! You are right, my dear friend, in affirming that the day of our liberation is near.

I WISH TO GIVE YOU some details with reference to my own personal situation, and the conditions under which we live in prison. Here we are some 600 political prisoners. There are some who have already been here for 20 years. The conditions are those of a common penitentiary regime, for the government pretends to negate the existence of political prisoners and has initiated a press campaign towards that end.

We are not permitted to receive or read the daily newspapers, nor books or magazines dealing with political information or studies. We are permitted to write only four cards a month to our immediate families, although we are permitted to receive letters from our friends. Food is insufficient, sanitary conditions are deficient, and we lack indispensable medicines, antibiotics, etc. We are subjected to frequent searches with an end towards preventing any kind of political activity. Despite everything, our morale is excellent. Nothing can or will break the firmness of our convictions. We are strong because we have reason and justice on our side.

I greatly appreciate your offer to send us food, medicines, clothing, etc. All of this is needed, and such as coffee, tobacco, etc., pay a very high tariff, but what is even more important is what you are doing to obtain our liberty.

The world travels towards the day when we may meet anew, in freedom. Salud! Many regards for our mutual friends, and to you, with a firm embrace, my sincere friendship and gratitude.

—Name withheld

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are planning a Week End at Wingdale-on-the-Lake, Wingdale, N.Y., July 18-19, to mark the 23rd anniversary of the Spanish Resistance. A special program will feature a frank and interesting report on what is going on in Spain. For information, call YUkon 6-6810.